2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 8011 Bahia Brazilians 8011
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* 565 ers to keep households of stable families, even without formal marriage. In Class D are found mostly the washerwomen and ironers listed under Occupation Group 2 in the preceding chapter.

* 565 836 837 848 The unwed mother seldom marries, for few men are willing to take a wife who is not a virgin, and fewer still can accept the responsibility of a whole family at once unless the woman has some property to offer along with herself. Once she has had a child a woman loses prestige and status and becomes a mark for men who are looking for an affair. She may even move in with a man for a while. Later, either she leaves him or he leaves her. She must support herself and her offspring, for her father can seldom support another family. As her children grow up, especially the daughters, she hopes for a legal marriage for them; but this is seldom realized for the girls will escape her control just as she herself did. In such a case a woman has little influence and very often cannot force the man to marry her daughter, so that her household is eventually composed of three generations, with two unwed mothers and their children. This is especially true when the young daughters are pretty or, as often happens, light-skinned, as a result of the fact that their fathers often belong to the lighter-colored group of men in town. Often girls from Class D are sent to the city to work as domestics in much the same way as girls from the rural area; there they may marry and avoid a repetition of the cycle, or else they return to their mothers pregnant and unmarried, for few employers will keep a pregnant girl in the house.

• 125 114 The following data were collected through the use of a questionnaire given after the author had been in the field about nine months. The actual collection was accomplished by the author and two paid assistants. The questionnaire was long and detailed, and each one took approximately three hours to complete.

125 * 565 Many people in all the classes did not want to respond, feeling that it was too much an invasion of their privacy. Many said that they did not know how much money they earned over a long period, that they simply spent whatever came into their hands. Others produced written, detailed records of all the money they earned and spent and how they spent it. The total number of samples finally collected was 125. Sixty-two are urban samples from the town of Vila Recôncavo, and sixty-

2: Hutchinson E-4, 8 (1960-1961) 1967 8011 Bahia Brasilians 8011
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three are rural samples from the factory and plantation nuclei. The total sample is divided by classes as follows:

Urban	Class	Rural
	A	2
11	B	7
41	C	54 (field workers 25; factory workers 29)
10	D	

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Class C in the rural zone is divided into two groups, field workers and factory workers, to point out the slight differences between the two groups.

TABLE 3
MONTHLY INCOME

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Urban Average Monthly Income of Head of Family (Cr$)	Class		Rural Average Monthly Income of Head of Family (Cr$)
	A		15.500,00
1.822,72	B		2.040,00
805,85	C	field workers	450,44
		factory workers	847,00
483,74	D		

The economic gap between Class A of the rural area and classes B, C, and D of both the rural and urban areas is quickly apparent. In United States currency the income is roughly $750 per month for Class A, $100 per month for Class B, and only $20 per month for Class D. The figures for Class B, both urban and rural, show how closely the segments of the class correspond in income. However, urban Class C and rural Class C differ in that the urban group's cash income is higher, although it does not approach that of Class B. Although the field workers' income appears to be close to that of urban Class D, the produce from the garden plots to which all field workers are entitled is not included in this figure. Class D, whose income is the lowest, must live on its wages, since members of this class do not have garden plots.

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157 ers have some positive qualities. People arrange their preferences in many ways, according to the physical qualities they wish to emphasize.

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557 There is also a series of expressions used by everyone to describe the person who is trying to appear white. It is almost axiomatic that whoever tries to be what he is not is considered ridiculous by all. Both whites and Negroes gossip about the social climber and use the terms "tem pinta" (has a "touch of the tarbrush"), or "tem sangue" (has Negro blood), or "é da raça" (is of the Negro race), or simply "besta" (show-off), "cheio de arte" (artful), "cheio de manha" (full of little tricks), or "fala bonito" (talks pretty).

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578 There are also many phrases used by lower-class people to ridicule Negroes and mestiços who are showing off, or "pushing." Most of these start off with Negro:

Negro doesn't marry, he gets together.
Negro doesn't accompany a procession, he runs after it.
Negro doesn't sit down, he squats.
Negro in white clothes is a sign of rain.
Negro doesn't hear Mass, he spies on it.
Negro at a white man's party is the first to grab and the last to eat.
Negro's intelligence is the same size as his hair.

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125 The concepts and fixed ideas which the people of Vila Recôncavo have of these racial types were also revealed in their responses to a pictorial questionnaire devised in the field. A series of eight photographs were shown. These were of people unknown to those answering the questionnaire. They consisted of a male and a female representative of each of the four major racial types, the caboclo, the preto, the mulato, and the branco. An attempt was made to keep the photographs from giving any clue to the possible class position of the eight persons. However, the photographs we were able to secure were not entirely satisfactory for our purposes in Vila Recôncavo. [159] The picture of the caboclo male was that of a middle-aged man, but of a type considered locally as having a strong personality, while the caboclo woman was older and certainly not simpatica (pleasant) in the local view. The two pretos were both unmistakably pretos, and both young. The mulato male and female differed one from the other, for the man was definitely a common mulato type, while the woman was almost

21 Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 3011 Bahia Brazilians 3011
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a morena mulata rather than "pure" mulata. She was young and considered much more simpatica than any of the other three women presented. The two whites were also both young, but neither was distinguished in any way, and there was doubt in the minds of the people answering the questionnaire as to whether these two were "pure" white or not.

The questionnaire was given to eighty-five people, broken down into the following groups:

18	brancos	11 males	7 females
41	mulatos	21 males	20 females
18	pretos	7 males	11 females
8	caboclos	6 males	2 females
85		45	40

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Table 6 gives the results as to which racial types were found respectively most physically attractive, most wealthy, best worker, most honest, and most religious.

TABLE 6
PHYSICAL TYPES

Question	Number of people selected in 1st place			
	Branco	Preto	Mulato	Caboclo
Most attractive man	39*	17	14	15
Most attractive woman	26	3	30	26
Most wealthy man	27	11	9	38
Most wealthy woman	37	8	17	23
Best worker (man)	4	38	13	30
Best worker (woman)	7	22	23	33
Most honest man	11	22	8	44
Most honest woman	15	13	22	33
Most religious man	21	15	13	36
Most religious woman	17	11	17	40

*Underlined numbers indicate the group most frequently selected in first place.

From Table 6 it becomes clear that the ideal of the most attractive male is the white; and that the numerically indicated preference for the female type is the mulata--but the cabocla, it must be noted, is equally selected with the white.

2t Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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Both the mulata and the cabocla (despite her apparent age) of the photographs are of types which have the physical characteristics of the morena, so preferred in Vila Recôncavo. It is surprising that the caboclo male was selected as the wealthiest, in view of the stereotype that it is the white who is generally wealthiest; but I believe that this is due to the fact that people found the photograph of the caboclo to have a rather "distinguished" face, while the white on the photograph was felt to be a young man with what might be considered a "characterless" face. The preto man was chosen as the best worker, which supports the stereotype discussed earlier, while the cabocla was chosen as the best woman worker. This may be explained by the local phrase used to describe her: "Good for nothing else." The caboclos, both male and female, were chosen as most honest and most religious, which is in keeping with the stereotype of the caboclo, who is considered more serious and solemn than the native of the Recôncavo.

Table 7, a breakdown of Table 6 by racial types, shows clearly the types selected in first place by the Negroes, the mulattoes, the whites, and the caboclos.

TABLE 7
BREAKDOWN OF TABLE 6 BY RACIAL TYPES

Question	Chosen in first place by: Pretos(P)	Mulatos(M)	Brancos(B)	Caboclos(C)
Most attractive man	P	B	B	B
Most attractive woman	C&B	M	B	B
Most wealthy man	P	C	C	C
Most wealthy woman	B	B	B	B
Best worker (man)	P	C	P	P
Best worker (woman)	P	C	M	C
Most honest man	C	C	C	C
Most honest woman	C	C	C	C
Most religious man	C&M	C	C	C&B
Most religious woman	C	C	B	C

*Where two racial types are in first place it means they received an equal number of "votes."

Table 7 shows the extremely low position of the Negro woman in relation to the other women. She was chosen in the first

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place in only one instance--namely, as best worker--and only by the Negroes. In spite of the fact that in Table 6 the mulatto woman was considered the most attractive, she was chosen as such only by the mulattoes. The other three racial types selected the cabocla and the white woman. In summing up the total number of "votes," the mulatto woman won by the narrow margin of four. It is interesting to note that the Negroes chose the preto man as the wealthiest, selecting the caboclo in second place, while the other three racial types selected the caboclo first.

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Most people who desire to ascend socially will say that it is better to be white, or at least light, than dark, because it is the white who has the most money, the most education, and consequently the greatest number of opportunities. Traditionally the light-skinned mulatto has been able to share to some extent in these things. Therefore, today, if an individual is lighter it will be easier for him to climb, simply because of his lightness. Nevertheless, it is considered better to be a wealthy preto than a poor white.

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No one in any class likes a marriage in which the skin colors are too far apart. Any marriage of dark with light or white will be referred to as mosca no leite ("fly in the milk"), and a certain repugnance is felt by all. One man, formerly a fisherman but now a merchant of some means, is a preto married to a branca da terra who was poor but almost white. This marriage has not aided him much, as his wife did not bring him social position, but it has "lightened" his children. His own status is increased through his financial transactions. But his children are being educated in the city, and are more readily acceptable because of their color and their economic background. Their chances for a good marriage are greater than if they had the same background but were dark.

In another case, a white girl of the town's uppermost class is engaged to a preto who is an engineer in Salvador, but whose family has roots in Vila Recôncavo. There was great resistance to the engagement on the part of the girl's family, and all her friends felt that although she had a good "catch"--that is, a successful man--he was too dark for her, in spite of the fact that the girl's father is a branco da terra, and that her grandmother was dark-skinned.

The one impassable gap between the upper class of "aristocratic whites" and those below them is marriage. The white of the second class may be acceptable to the upper class be-

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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[Class B Families]

[Class C Families]

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[114] plantation during the author's stay in the community, and her father gave her a large wedding. The wedding party left the plantation early in the morning in an oxcart decorated with white crepe paper, and proceeded to the town of Vila Recôncavo. The wedding was held in the Franciscan chapel. The townspeople did not attend the wedding or show any interest in it. Immediately after the ceremony the wedding party started back to the plantation, a five-mile trip. As each plantation nucleus was passed the cart stopped in front of the overseer's house, and small glasses of rum were passed to the guests, and the happiness of bride and groom was toasted.

[342] On arrival at the new brick house which the groom's father had presented to the couple, the bride went into the kitchen
[431] to help her mother and the other women who were preparing the luncheon. Then she passed small glasses of wine to the
[114] guests. With the exception of Dona Sinhá and the author, the guests were all overseers from the neighboring plantations.
The female guests were relatives of the bride. The meal con-
[262] sisted of everything the region had to offer: fish, shrimp, salads; roasts of beef, pork, lamb, and turkey; potatoes and farina; followed by fruits, desserts, and coffee. After all the men had eaten and moved into the living room to chat, the bride and the other women sat down in the dining room to eat.

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•[125] In a sample of eighteen Class B households (eleven urban and seven rural), fifteen couples were married by both civil and religious ceremonies. The remaining three couples were simply living together, a state known in northern Brazil as amasiado. In Class C a sample of ninety-five households (forty-one urban and fifty-four rural) showed twenty-three couples in the amasiado state, twenty-two married by civil and religious ceremonies, thirty-four married in church only, and eight by civil marriage alone. Eight of the couples sampled did not answer the question. In Class B, one partner in each of the three couples living in the amasiado state was married to someone else whom he or she had left.

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[161] Nineteen civil marriages were performed in the entire county (population over 11,000) during the year of 1950. They are
[127] shown below by age group. Fifty religious marriages were performed during the same year throughout the five parishes attended by the Franciscans. Because of differences in the manner of recording the two types of marriages, however, no correlation could be worked out as to how many marriages were both civil and religious. There are no statistics avail-

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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who never miss a Mass, benediction, or prayer. By means of a questionnaire in the town and the rural area, the following data were obtained concerning the average frequency of church attendance per year for men and women over fourteen years of age:

TABLE 11
FREQUENCY OF CHURCH ATTENDANCE

Urban		Class	Rural	
Number of times per year			Number of times per year	
Males	Females		Males	Females
		A	19	23
40	96	B	4	3
17	25	C	3	3
4	41	D		

Several things are shown by this table. First, the higher a man's social position, the more often he goes to church, at least in classes B, C, and D. Second, the frequency of attendance by the women of all classes is considerably greater than that of the men. Third, the women of Class A attend church fewer times per year than do the women of classes B, C, and D of the urban area. Fourth, there are great differences in the rural and urban attendance: people from the plantations seldom go to town for Mass, preferring to wait for some special plantation occasion when the priest will go to the plantation. The difference between the attendance frequencies of Class A and Classes B and C of the rural zone is due to the time that Class A spends in Salvador, where members often attend Sunday Mass, as well as family Masses.

African Cults

Brazilian candomblé is usually thought of as a syncretism between African cultism and Catholicism. There has been a partial identification of the African deities with Catholic saints. For example, Ôgún, the African god of war, has been identified with St. Anthony; Ôxóssi, deity of the hunt, with St. George; Ômolú, the god of pestilence, with St. Roch; Êxu, the trickster, with Satan; Yansan, with St. Barbara; and Xangô, with either St. Jerome or St. Barbara. There has been

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the *homem de côr* to say '*Êle É um senhor*' (he IS a real gentleman) or '*um branco bom*' (a good white) is to admit that the white and the Negro can live together in dignity.

There is a series of expressions used by all types to describe the person who is trying to appear white. Whoever tries to be what he is not is considered ridiculous by all. Both whites and Negroes gossip about the social climber and use the terms '*tem pinta*' (has a 'touch of the tarbrush'), '*tem sangue*' (has Negro blood), '*é da raça*' (is of the Negro race), or simply '*besta*' (show-off), '*cheio de arte*' (artful), '*cheio de manha*' (full of little tricks), or '*fala bonito*' (talks pretty).

There are also many phrases used by lower-class people to ridicule Negroes and *mestiços* who are showing off, or 'pushing'. Most of these start off with *Negro*:

[539]

Negro doesn't marry, he gets together.
Negro doesn't accompany a procession, he runs after it.
Negro doesn't sit down, he squats.
Negro in white clothes is a sign of rain.
Negro doesn't hear Mass, he spies on it.
Negro at a white man's party is the first to grab and the last to eat.
Negro's intelligence is the same size as his hair.

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The concepts and fixed ideas which the people of Vila Recôncavo have of these racial types were also revealed in their responses to a pictorial questionnaire devised in the field.[1] A series of eight photographs of people unknown to those answering the questionnaire was shown, consisting of a male and a female of each of the four major racial types, the *caboclo*, the *preto*, the *mulato* and the *branco*. An attempt was made to use photographs giving no clue to the possible class position of the eight persons. However, the photographs which we were able to secure were not entirely satisfactory for our purposes in Vila Recôncavo. The picture of the caboclo male was of a man of middle age, but a type considered in the local conception as having a strong personality, while the *caboclo* woman was older and certainly not *simpática* (pleasant) in the local view. The two *pretos* were both unmistakably *pretos*, and both young. The *mulato* male and female differed one from the other, as the man was definitely a common *mulato* type, while the woman was almost a *morena mulata* rather than 'pure' *mulata*. She was young and considered much more *simpática* than any of the four women presented. The two whites were not distinguished in any way; and there was doubt in the minds of the people answering the questionnaire as to whether these two were 'pure' white or not.

The questionnaire was given to 85 people: 18 *brancos*—11 males,

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[1] These questionnaires were given by a local assistant after the author's stay in Vila Recôncavo, but the results agree in general with the observations made during research in the community.

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7 females; 41 *mulatos*—21 males, 20 females; 18 *pretos*—7 males, 11 females; 8 *caboclos*—6 males, 2 females.

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Table I gives the racial types which were found respectively most physically attractive, most wealthy, best worker, most honest and most religious.

TABLE I.

Question	No. of people who selected in first place			
	Branco	Preto	Mulato	Caboclo
Most attractive man	**39**	17	14	15
Most attractive woman	**26**	3	30	26
Most wealthy man	**27**	11	9	38
Most wealthy woman	**37**	8	17	23
Best worker, man	4	**38**	13	30
Best worker, woman	7	22	23	**33**
Most honest man	11	22	8	**44**
Most honest woman	15	13	22	**38**
Most religious man	21	15	13	**36**
Most religious woman	17	11	17	**40**

(Bold type indicates the group most frequently selected in first place.)

From Table I, it results that: (a) the ideal of the most attractive male is the white; (b) the preferred female type is the *mulata*, but the *cabocla*, it must be noted, is almost equally selected with the white; both the *mulata* and the *cabocla* (despite her apparent age) of the photos are of types which have the physical characteristics of the *morena* so preferred in Vila Recôncavo; (c) surprisingly, the *caboclo* male was selected as the wealthiest, in view of the stereotype that it is the white who is generally wealthiest, but I believe that this is due to the fact that people found the photo of the *caboclo* to have a rather 'distinguished' face, while the photo of the white was considered to be a young man with what might be considered a 'characterless' face; (d) the *preto* man was chosen as the best worker, which supports the stereotype discussed earlier, but the *cabocla* was chosen as the best woman worker (this may be explained by the local phrase used to describe her: 'Good for nothing else'); (e) the *caboclos*, both male and female, were chosen as most honest and most religious, which is in keeping with the stereotype of the *caboclo*, who is considered more serious and solemn than the native of the Recôncavo.

Table II, a breakdown of Table I by racial types, shows clearly the type selected in first place by the Negroes, the mulattoes, the whites and the *caboclos*, in answer to the same questionnaire. The most obvious inference derived from Table II is the extremely low posi-

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tion of the Negro woman in relation to the other women. She was chosen in first place in only one instance, namely as best worker, and only by the Negroes. In spite of the fact that in Table I the mulatto woman was considered the most attractive, she was chosen so only by the mulattoes. The other three racial types selected the *caboclo*

TABLE II.

Question	Chosen in first place by			
	Negroes	Mulattoes	Whites	Caboclos
Most attractive man	P	B	B	B
Most attractive woman	C & B	M	B	B
Most wealthy man	P	C	C	C
Most wealthy woman	B	B	B	B
Best worker, man	P	C	P	P
Best worker, woman	P	C	M	C
Most honest man	C	C	C	C
Most honest woman	C	C	C	C
Most religious man	C & M	C	C	C & B
Most religious woman	C	C	B	C

(P—*preto*; B—*branco*; C—*caboclo*; M—*mulato*. Where two racial types are in first place, they received an equal number of 'votes'.)

and the white woman. In summing up the total number of 'votes', the mulatto woman won by a narrow margin (four votes). It is interesting to note that the Negroes chose the *preto* man as the most wealthy, putting the caboclo in second place, while the other three racial types put the *caboclo* first.

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VI. There is a saying in the Recôncavo that where there was sugar, there were Negroes. This rule of thumb seems to hold remarkably well even today. On the islands in the bay where there never were *engenhos*, there are few *pretos*. In the town of Vila Recôncavo, and in a small settlement to the west of Vila Recôncavo where there never was an *engenho*, there are relatively few *pretos*, in comparison with the area of *engenhos* and plantations. The region as a whole can be shaded off in dark and light, to distinguish roughly the spatial arrangement according to colour. In the areas where there was still is sugar, there are many more *gente branqueada* (whitened people) than in the non-plantation areas.

These lightened areas seem to continue to lighten, while the darker areas retain their dark characteristics. In Vila Recôncavo, which is a *mestiço* community, there is much more opportunity for

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4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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B
CB
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individuals. In a society with aristocratic traditions like that of Bahia, Thales de Azevedo (73–74) reminds us, the etiquette between persons of different levels is an extremely important consideration, so that a person whose manners imply a degree of intimacy or a conception of role out of keeping with the actual situation as commonly defined is always looked upon with disfavor, even if he be a white. It is not race, nor is it color, which is actually involved here; it is a matter far more inclusive, namely, good form for *any* person.

Just how important *is* color as a criterion of rank in Brazil? Some writers, particularly those acquainted at first hand with the United States, or who are unconsciously influenced by a knowledge of the racial situation here or elsewhere, give it primary attention. In this justified?

B
CB
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As indicated in the Preface, a brief survey of the role of certain criteria in determining social rank in Brazil was made, previous to preparing this Introduction. Five of the presumably most significant criteria were employed: family affiliation, economic condition, personal competence, educational achievement—and color.[22] The respondents were university students in Bahia and four other Brazilian cities: Recife, João Pessoa, Vitória and São Paulo. Each of these criteria was paired with each of the others; and respondents were then asked their preference between, for instance, 1) being poor and belonging to a family of prestige and 2) being rich and belonging to a family of low standing; or between 1) having little education and being a branco and 2) having a "good" education and being a prêto; etc. In addition, prefer-

[22] This is, of course, not a complete list of criteria used in Brazil. To it should probably be added: type of occupation, living level, certain personal and social characteristics of capital importance in determining prestige and position (cf., for instance, p. 205 of this book; Pierson 1951: 200–205), and perhaps others.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll
BRAZIL SLI

ences were asked regarding the "most important" characteristic in a marriage partner, the "second most important" characteristic, and the "least important."

This preliminary inquiry is probably not worthy of being published in full here or elsewhere, since the replies are too limited in number, the samples need greater care regarding their representativeness, and the presentation of questions perhaps was not under the rigorous control necessary to obtain common situations of response. Nevertheless, if we bear in mind that these are preliminary and tentative data, they do at least afford some clues regarding the "racial" situation in Brazil, at least sufficiently to raise hypotheses for further testing.

Pending further and more thorough investigation, then, at least certain tendencies in these samples may be quoted, especially where the stated preferences were as high as approximately five to one. In Bahia, for instance, this decidedly clear preference appeared in two cases (considering only those choices in which color figured): an approximately five to one preference for "belonging to a family with prestige and being a mixed-blood," in contrast to "belonging to a family of low standing and being a branco"; and an approximately five to one preference also for "having a 'good' education and being a mixed-blood," in contrast to "having little education and being a branco." At least a three to one preference was indicated also for "being rich and a mixed-blood," in contrast to "being poor and a branco"; and also for "having a 'good' education and being a prêto," in contrast to "having little education and being a branco." The approximately two to one preference for "belonging to a family of prestige and being a prêto," in contrast to "belonging to a family of low standing and being a branco," and the approximately equal preference between "being rich and a

4; Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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prêto" and "being poor and a branco," are perhaps too indecisive for statistical validity, considering the smallness of the sample.

Whatever the limitations of this preliminary survey, however, there would appear to be a strong presumption—at least this hypothesis might be advanced for further testing—that, in determining rank at Bahia, the possession of white color is of *less* importance than certain other criteria.

In choosing a marriage partner, students at Bahia considered to be "most important" personal competence, followed closely by extent of education. Only three respondents selected family affiliation (indicating, probably, that a shift in the traditional attitudes in this respect is well under way); and none selected economic condition. Nor did anyone mention color as the "most important" criterion. Chosen as the "second most important" was extent of education, closely followed by personal competence, family affiliation, and economic condition, in that order. Color was selected as "second most important" by only two respondents. Given as "*least* important" was color, a striking fact, since, in such a situation as that involved in these selections many observers think the so-called "acid test" of any racial situation lies.

Although the sample from each of the five cities is too small to measure the variations between these cities with any reliability, the five samples taken as a whole, at least in those cases where consistencies appear throughout, can perhaps give us at least preliminary data on possible tendencies in Brazil, pending, of course, further and more complete investigation.

When choosing a life partner, these students in all five cities considered the "most important" criterion to be: first, extent of education; and, then, personal competence, family

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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affiliation, economic condition, and color, in that order. There was a surprisingly high degree of concordance in all five cities, the highest number of selections in each case being either personal competence or educational achievement. These two criteria were also most chosen as the "second most important" in all cities except one (where economic condition received the highest number of preferences for second place). As the "least important" criterion in a marriage partner, color was overwhelmingly selected in all cities, without exception.

What do these data mean? Are they illusory, by reason of flaws in the investigative tool? Do they point even more sharply to what some careful investigators have suggested regarding the differences between verbal and actual behavior? Or, taking into due consideration the admitted limitations of this preliminary survey, and taking also into consideration possible variants in verbal as contrasted with actual behavior, does there not still remain a strong likelihood that the role of color has been exaggerated by certain investigators who are familiar with other racial situations and simply cannot believe what lies before them? Or by local investigators who are in revolt regarding what they consider to be an overemphasis on Brazil's being a "racial democracy" and have deliberately set out to prove the reverse and in so doing have emphasized unduly certain limited aspects of the total situation and thus thrown the "picture" out of focus?

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sirable as a seat of residence for one weary of the noises of an industrial city, but for the Bahian wife and daughters, whose world is still largely inside the doors of the home, these characteristics seem to give it a peculiar charm. Hence, one will see along this avenue, almost from Praça Castro Alves out, the residences of many substantial families and, in Vitoria, just beyond the governor's palace, the more pretentious dwellings of the upper class.

TABLE 1

FAMILIES DWELLING ALONG THE AVENIDA SETE DE SETEMBRO CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO ETHNIC COMPOSITION, BAHIA, 1936

	Number	Per Cent
Black	19	7.6
Mixed-blood	97	38.6
White	128	51.0
Mixed-blood and white	5	2.0
Black and mixed-blood	2	0.8
Total	251	100.0

No Bahian house which boasts any pretension fails to have a balcony, while nearly all possess large casement windows opening out on the street. From this vantage point the family can while away many pleasant hours leaning on elbows and "watching the *gente* (people) go by." Consequently, one can readily gain, especially during the passage of processions when the balconies and windows are fully occupied, rather accurate information on the physical character of the population. It is possible at Carnival, for example, particularly just preceding the passage of the floats, to take a census with respect to racial composition, as far

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at least as color is an index of race.[16] On the first evening of Carnival in 1936 an analysis into color categories of families dwelling along this avenue from Jardim Suspenso to the Church of São Bento gave the distribution shown in Table 1.

That families of whites, of mixed-bloods, and of relatively unmixed blacks dwell indiscriminately side by side on this important street is even more clearly evident if one notes the house-by-house distribution as he proceeds along the Avenida:

White	Mixed-blood	Mixed-blood
White	White	White
Mixed-blood	Mixed-blood (dark)	White
Mixed-blood	Mixed-blood (dark)	White
Mixed-blood	White	Mixed-blood
White	Mixed-blood	Mixed-blood
Mixed-blood	Mixed-blood	Black
White	White	Black
White	Mixed-blood	Mixed-blood
Mixed-blood (dark)	Mixed-blood	Mixed-blood
Mixed-blood	White	Mixed-blood
White	White	White

Of 142 white students to whom the question, "Do you dislike black neighbors?" was put, 120 responded "No." And of 143 who responded to the question, "Do you dislike *pardo* (brown) neighbors?" 129 replied in the negative. Among the small minority who in each case appeared to be somewhat troubled by the immediate proximity of darker neighbors, subsequent inquiry developed that ordinarily the objection arose out of apprehension that residence among black neighbors might imply residence in a lower-class (and hence less

[16] It is obviously likely that the actual residents were joined on this occasion by other persons, either relatives or friends. But since the object was not to count faces but to test the ethnic composition of families dwelling side by side, this possibility did not materially affect the enumeration. Only seven cases were found of mixed ethnic composition, and it is reasonable to assume in the light of the Bahian culture that some of these were so by reason of ethnic mixture in the family itself.

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desirable) neighborhood. The objection appeared to be not so much to the blacks *as such* but rather to those areas in which the darker portion of the population, being less secure financially (as we shall presently see in more detail), ordinarily dwell.

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In this connection it is also significant to note that an occasional black resides in such upper-class sections as Canella or Vitoria without any question being made of the fact. He will ordinarily be a person of wealth, education, professional competence, and "good breeding"; in other words, a member of the upper classes. Similarly significant is the complementary fact that a considerable number of lower-class whites may be found living in the valleys or the outlying regions, scattered among the darker portion of the population, imbedded quite unconsciously in what might be called, if they were in the United States, the "Negro bottoms."[17] Sharing a common life with the other illiterate poor, these occasional white families visit about among their darker neighbors, eat, drink, work, play, and intermarry with them, and participate in a common body of ideas and sentiments, just as at the other end of the class scale an occasional black participates in the predominately white world of the élite.

Thus, although Bahia is divided quite definitely into upper- and lower-class residents who occupy rather distinct areas of the city, and these class and geographical divisions also tend to correspond rather closely to the color divisions in the population, one notes certain significant exceptions whose occurrence points rather clearly toward class rather than caste as the basis of social organization.

[17] An occasional well-to-do white upper-class family will reside in a lower-class area, the house and grounds ordinarily taking on the appearance of a spacious country seat surrounded by more humble dwellings.

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Short of a racial census, an adequate statistical statement of the racial composition of Bahia would probably require an extended sampling of the population in various parts of the city—a procedure not feasible under the limits of this study. Samples readily obtainable at the numerous festivals such as Segunda Feira do Bomfim, Conceição da Praia, the Vespers of Reis, etc., are not practical for the reason that participation of one or another of the ethnic components is ordinarily out of proportion to its size in the general population. But at Carnival, when nearly the entire population frequents the public thoroughfares, this difficulty disappears. A new obstacle arises, however, in the form of a considerable infiltration of population from surrounding areas. And since the whites are ordinarily from the upper-income groups and consequently more able to travel, the white percentage of the city's population is probably at that time swollen beyond its normal proportion. The "Micarêta," or second Carnival, held one week after Easter, avoids this latter disadvantage. Of five thousand people noted among the participants in the "Micarêta" for 1936, the racial percentages appeared to be those given in Table 5.

Thus one can perhaps confirm the common-sense judgment of Bahian citizens to the effect that at least half, and perhaps more, of the population is now noticeably mixed, that both biologically "pure" whites (but not "whites" in the social sense) and biologically "pure" Africans are relatively few in number.

Some notion of the change in physical characteristics by generations, at least among members of the lower classes, may be had from a study of five hundred cases of mothers and their offspring applying at Bahia's free children's

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clinic.[47] The offspring of 221 black and 200[48] mulatto mothers appeared to vary from their mothers as indicated in Table 6.

Since cases in which only obvious variations appeared were recorded as differing, the data would indicate a rather noticeable variation by generations. At least this is true in so far as mothers are concerned. Accurate information on fathers is difficult to obtain, since, in the section of the popu-

TABLE 5

ETHNIC ORIGIN (AS DETERMINED BY INSPECTION) OF FIVE THOUSAND PARTICIPANTS IN THE "MICARÊTA" FESTIVAL, BAHIA, 1936

Racial Identity	Number	Per Cent
European	1,585	31.7
Negro	900	18.0
Mulatto	2,495	49.9
*Cafuso**	20	0.4
Total	5,000	100.0

* The term *cafuso* is employed to designate an individual of mixed Indian and Negro descent.

lation whence these cases come, one finds extensive cohabitation without formal marriage, either civil or religious.

So widespread has the dispersion of African blood in the predominantly European group now become that relatively few families in Bahia are of undiluted European origin, without African strain somewhere in the lineage. This mixture of the races in Bahia is in some respects similar to the

[47] Since pigmentation, it is presumed by local physicians, does not become "fixed" until approximately six months after birth, children under one year were eliminated from the tally.

[48] Seventy-nine children were white of white mothers.

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to her,[52] romances written.[53] Of 146 male students responding to the query, "All things being equal, whom would you prefer to marry, a *branca*, a *morena*, a *parda*, a *preta*," 117, or 80.1 per cent, replied "a *morena*." Similarly, of 93 white female students responding to a like question, 80, or 86 per cent, preferred a *moreno* for a mate.

The *morena* may, or may not, have African blood.[54] But at least in Bahia this category includes many individuals of partial African descent. For instance, a study of five hundred women classified as *morenas* in the Gabinete de Identificação indicated the probable distribution given in Table 7.

It is the opinion of Arthur Ramos[55] that, although "the charms of the *morena* exert a profound sexual attraction" and the regard in which she is held "has a sexual base in the Freudian sense," the present attitude toward the *morena* "grew out of the enthusiasm and the sentimentalism of the abolition campaign. The *morena* expresses in a symbolic way the union of the two races—the black and the white—and the absence of [caste] prejudice."

The *morena* probably constitutes a decided bond be-

[52] As, for example, the following:

Beautiful morena,
Morena,
Morena who makes me suffer!
The full moon, so bright,
Is not as luminous as your eyes.
You are a *morena*,
A wonderful girl.
There's not a *branca* who hasn't
fallen for you.

Men quarrel over you;
Everyone eagerly anticipates
Your smile.

Your heart is a boarding-house,
A family hotel
Along the seashore.
Oh, *moreninha*, do not rent all!
Leave at least a corner
For me to live in!

Often,
When you pass by,

[53] A rock on the island of Paquetá in Guanabara Bay at Rio de Janeiro very popular with young lovers, has been dedicated to the *moreninha*.

[54] Pronouncing the word *morena* (or *moreno*) with a certain emphasis or changed inflection indicates darker color.

[55] Stated in personal correspondence with the author.

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tween the races, serving at once as a symbol and as a means of white-Negro union. When, as often happens, marriage occurs between a *branco* and a *morena* some of whose ancestors were Africans, the resulting offspring obviously make it more difficult for white fathers to consider African blood prejudicial—an attitude intensified in the new generation, which actually possesses some African blood.

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TABLE 7

PROBABLE ETHNIC ORIGIN OF THE FIRST FIVE HUNDRED WOMEN CLASSIFIED AS *Morenas* IN THE FILES OF THE GABINETE DE IDENTIFICAÇÃO, BAHIA, 1936

Probability	Number	Per Cent
Whites	131	26 2
Mulattoes	308	61 6
White-Indian mixed-bloods	28	5 0
Negro-Indian mixed-bloods	15	3 0
Negro-White-Indian mixed-bloods	18	3 6
Total	500	100 0

* 563 192

The term "Negro" is seldom heard in Bahia. It is a *palavra pesada*, a harsh, even offensive, term. Its actual meaning is "African," i.e., "foreigner." In this respect it is a term somewhat similar to "Wop," "Dago," "Sheeny," "Greaser." It also implies slave status and hence calls up memories of the harsher aspects of slavery of which the blacks do not like to talk and the whites are ashamed. Its use is therefore "not good form," and one hears it ordinarily employed only in anger, as an epithet. If otherwise used, it must be "with a smile." *Mulato* is coming to have a somewhat similar connotation, and, as a white Bahian put it, "the better people are beginning to use *moreno* instead."

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has some degree of color in his ancestry. In other words, the white–*branco da Bahia* marriages are omitted.[*] It represents, therefore, the number of intermarriages from the local point of view, but, as a government official pointed out, it does not accurately reflect the amount of actual race-crossing.

Among the whites of the upper classes a definite line is drawn at intermarriage between individuals from the extreme limits of the color scale, just as a line is drawn, and perhaps for the same reason, at marriage between individuals from the lower and upper limits of the class scale. Although such marriages do occasionally occur, they are ordinarily frowned upon. Thus, of 149 students classifying themselves as *brancos* and responding to the query, "Do you object to marrying a *preto?*" 139, or 93 per cent, replied "Yes." Of 140 similar students, 93, or two-thirds, even objected to dancing with a black.

The brother of a former governor of Bahia, scion of a family which traces its lineage back through a long line of colonial and European aristocracy, had never married but had lived all his life with a lower-class Negro mistress. When, on his deathbed, he desired to marry the woman and thus legitimize the children, his family objected so strenuously that the attempt was abandoned. However, opposition was not only on color but also, and more importantly, on class grounds.

Hence, white-Negro *consorcios* which involve a member of the upper class are ordinarily extra-legal, outside marriage. In the upper circles intermarriage becomes more pronounced as the colors approach along the white-black continuum.

[*] It is also true, of course, that *branco da Bahia-pardo* marriages are included.

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Numerous families *da boa sociedade* ("of social standing") "dão comida" (make the food offerings, especially of *caruru*) to Beji (Cosme and Damião) and celebrate the day sacred to their honor. A number of white individuals on occasion make offerings to the *mãe d'agua*. Cases like that of the wife of a former state senator and political chieftain who kept an altar to an African *orixá* in her house are, however, not numerous.

Of 66 students in the Escola Normal classifying themselves as *brancos* and responding to the query, "Do members of your family give presents to the *mãe d'agua?*" 7, or 10.6 per cent, answered in the affirmative. Of 36 *pardos*, the families of 9, or 25 per cent, similarly made offerings. Of 63 whites, 29, or 46 per cent, thought one ought to fear the *bozo* (black magic); as did 12, or 37 per cent of the *pardos*, and all 6 of the *pretos* who replied. Of 63 whites, only 1 thought the statement "A *pae de santo* is more useful in time of illness than a physician" was true, but 9, or 14 per cent, regarded it as "partially true"; of 32 *pardos*, 2 believed the statement true, and 7, or 22 per cent, thought it "partially true." Of 197 students in the Escola Normal and the Law School, the families of 25, or 13 per cent, "give *comida*" to Cosme and Damião.

Ordinarily the attitudes which the inhabitants of European descent take toward the *candomblé* vary from good-natured tolerance, which is the most characteristic, through indifference, which is common, to active opposition, which is comparatively rare, although from time to time complaints like the one below find their way into the newspapers.

In *A Tarde* for May 8, 1936, appeared an editorial under the title:

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individuals. In a society with aristocratic traditions like that of Bahia, Thales de Azevedo (73–74) reminds us, the etiquette between persons of different levels is an extremely important consideration, so that a person whose manners imply a degree of intimacy or a conception of role out of keeping with the actual situation as commonly defined is always looked upon with disfavor, even if he be a white. It is not race, nor is it color, which is actually involved here; it is a matter far more inclusive, namely, good form for *any* person.

Just how important *is* color as a criterion of rank in Brazil? Some writers, particularly those acquainted at first hand with the United States, or who are unconsciously influenced by a knowledge of the racial situation here or elsewhere, give it primary attention. In this justified?

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As indicated in the Preface, a brief survey of the role of certain criteria in determining social rank in Brazil was made, previous to preparing this Introduction. Five of the presumably most significant criteria were employed: family affiliation, economic condition, personal competence, educational achievement—and color.[22] The respondents were university students in Bahia and four other Brazilian cities: Recife, João Pessoa, Vitória and São Paulo. Each of these criteria was paired with each of the others; and respondents were then asked their preference between, for instance, 1) being poor and belonging to a family of prestige and 2) being rich and belonging to a family of low standing; or between 1) having little education and being a branco and 2) having a "good" education and being a prêto; etc. In addition, prefer-

[22] This is, of course, not a complete list of criteria used in Brazil. To it should probably be added: type of occupation, living level, certain personal and social characteristics of capital importance in determining prestige and position (cf., for instance, p. 205 of this book; Pierson 1951: 200–205), and perhaps others.

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ences were asked regarding the "most important" characteristic in a marriage partner, the "second most important" characteristic, and the "least important."

This preliminary inquiry is probably not worthy of being published in full here or elsewhere, since the replies are too limited in number, the samples need greater care regarding their representativeness, and the presentation of questions perhaps was not under the rigorous control necessary to obtain common situations of response. Nevertheless, if we bear in mind that these are preliminary and tentative data, they do at least afford some clues regarding the "racial" situation in Brazil, at least sufficiently to raise hypotheses for further testing.

Pending further and more thorough investigation, then, at least certain tendencies in these samples may be quoted, especially where the stated preferences were as high as approximately five to one. In Bahia, for instance, this decidedly clear preference appeared in two cases (considering only those choices in which color figured): an approximately five to one preference for "belonging to a family with prestige and being a mixed-blood," in contrast to "belonging to a family of low standing and being a branco"; and an approximately five to one preference also for "having a 'good' education and being a mixed-blood," in contrast to "having little education and being a branco." At least a three to one preference was indicated also for "being rich and a mixed-blood," in contrast to "being poor and a branco"; and also for "having a 'good' education and being a prêto," in contrast to "having little education and being a branco." The approximately two to one preference for "belonging to a family of prestige and being a prêto," in contrast to "belonging to a family of low standing and being a branco," and the approximately equal preference between "being rich and a

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prêto" and "being poor and a branco," are perhaps too indecisive for statistical validity, considering the smallness of the sample.

Whatever the limitations of this preliminary survey, however, there would appear to be a strong presumption—at least this hypothesis might be advanced for further testing—that, in determining rank at Bahia, the possession of white color is of *less* importance than certain other criteria.

In choosing a marriage partner, students at Bahia considered to be "most important" personal competence, followed closely by extent of education. Only three respondents selected family affiliation (indicating, probably, that a shift in the traditional attitudes in this respect is well under way); and none selected economic condition. Nor did anyone mention color as the "most important" criterion. Chosen as the "second most important" was extent of education, closely followed by personal competence, family affiliation, and economic condition, in that order. Color was selected as "second most important" by only two respondents. Given as "*least* important" was color, a striking fact, since, in such a situation as that involved in these selections many observers think the so-called "acid test" of any racial situation lies.

Although the sample from each of the five cities is too small to measure the variations between these cities with any reliability, the five samples taken as a whole, at least in those cases where consistencies appear throughout, can perhaps give us at least preliminary data on possible tendencies in Brazil, pending, of course, further and more complete investigation.

When choosing a life partner, these students in all five cities considered the "most important" criterion to be: first, extent of education; and, then, personal competence, family

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to the anthropophysical study of the colored child/, Rio de Janeiro, 1939.

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The author of these pages has classified, according to their respective photographs, 30 social-club members of the male sex belonging to the well-educated people of Bahia, and showed them to a young white girl of the middle class, to a métise of modest class, a student of the social sciences, and to a métis in charge of the administration of the same club, asking them to classify them in turn. Here are the descriptions applied according to the judgment of each identifier:

Designation	Number of individuals of each type (1)			
	A	B	C	D
Whites	19	14	21	6
Brancos da terra . . .	1	11	2	-
Morenos	4	-	6	19
Mulattoes	6	5	1	5

1. A, author; B, young white girl; C, métisse student; D, métis functionary.

The four classifications agree only in certain instances: this was a matter of the Whites whose phenotype was obvious; in five cases, three agreed with regard to the classification of a White who was classified by the fourth as moreno; in 14 cases the opinions were divided by half and so on.

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Most of the light métis are identified as morenos in the registers in which are inscribed the members of the social clubs, religious brotherhoods, in the lists of students of an establishment for university instruction examined at the end of the investigation. When it was requested of different persons of the middle class, most of

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829 whom practiced a liberal profession and were graduates of the
*563 University of Bahia, to classify according to their type the per-
• 125 sons carried on the list of physicians and pharmacists registered at
565 the Ministry of Public Health, representatives of the State and /16/ federal representatives, university professors, members of the local academy of letters, and other associations of the city, there too the term moreno was most often used to designate the métis. Those who used the expression "mulatto" were rare. As
[177] a result of the influence exerted by North American films, one
[192] sometimes hears mention of "colored" /quoted in English/; a local journal described a politician of Bahia with this term, and a woman questioned by us acknowledged being "colored" /quoted in English/.

829 In a recent book a writer of the city sums up the semantic
*563 problems in relation to the characterization of local types in
192 this way: "A light Black is called mulatto, the light mulatto is a moreno, a blond becomes a sararâ. As for pardo, no one knows what that is. White fino is said of those persons whose origin and appearance do not show this "margin" thanks to which one infallibly recognizes crossbreeding. And those who are whites of mixed blood do not like to show the portraits of their ancestors" (1).

[113] 1. J. Valadares, Beabá da Bahia /ABC's of Bahia/ 1951, p. 91.

829 The foreigners, who are relatively limited in number in the
*563 city, are easily distinguished by the majority of people. A European with strange manners, speaking Portuguese with great difficulty, or expressing himself in another language, is simply considered a "foreigner," particularly if he has a light and pink skin, blue eyes, and fine, blond hair. A Brazilian showing these characteristics is accused of being a "foreigner type" or a "German
829 type." Foreigners may also be called gringos, whatever their
*563 physical characteristics may be. The Spaniards, who are very
[192] numerous in the grocery business, are sometimes called the "gringos of the grocery business." The Russian, Polish, and